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PHONOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION OF
OLD ENGLISH

*ILLUSTRATED BY A SERIES OF FIFTY
PROBLEMS.*

BY

ALBERT S. COOK, PH.D. (JENA),

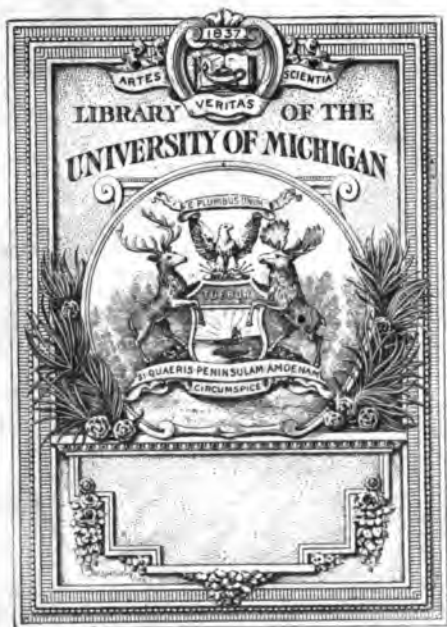
PROFESSOR OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE IN THE
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.



BOSTON, U.S.A. :

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THE
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under the year 894 of the English Chronicle, beginning on page 36. I have supposed a student desirous of working out the phonology of such a passage in a manner at once independent and systematic. Should he not succeed in every instance, he would not be justified in concluding that the method was necessarily wrong. There are problems which, in the present state of our knowledge, baffle all attempts at solution. But it is advantageous that this class of problems be discriminated from the rest, in order that effort may be concentrated upon them, and they may be forced to yield, as equally forbidding ones have already done.

ALBERT S. COOK.

BERKELEY, CAL., March 19, 1888.

INTRODUCTORY.

1. The phonology of a language is a systematic account of its speech-sounds, their mutual relations, and the modifications to which they are subject.

2. A competent knowledge of Old English phonology is the indispensable foundation of all exact scholarship in that tongue. Such a knowledge of Old English phonology is most conveniently obtained by investigating the phonology of a single text, or of a limited number of words. No method known is so certain to imprint the facts upon the memory, or to put the student in command of the principles, as that of actual investigation. Besides, the facts thus obtained are serviceable to other students, if placed at their disposal.

3. The method employed in the phonological investigation of Old English is the comparative; that is, it involves a consideration of related words and speech-sounds in the kindred Germanic tongues. These are *a*) Old High German, Old Saxon, Old Frisian; *b*) Old Norse (Icelandic), Gothic.

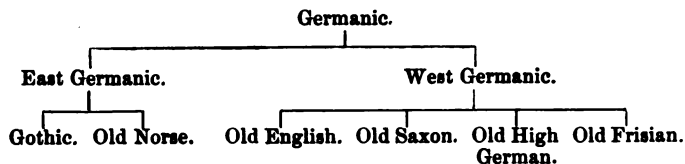
4. In practice, it is more convenient to postulate a single Germanic language, from which all the historic dialects are descended, and to make all phonological comparisons with the forms of that language, or of one

of its two grand divisions (§ 5). This hypothetical language is known simply as Germanic, though sometimes as Primitive Germanic (*Urgermanisch*), Common Germanic, General Teutonic, or Original Teutonic (*Philological Society's Dictionary*).

5. Linguistic science at present recognizes two main divisions of Germanic, known as West Germanic and East Germanic; the former includes the dialects enumerated in § 3. *a*, together with Old English; the latter comprises Old Norse and Gothic. Scholars are not quite agreed as to the propriety of the term East Germanic; but the constitution of the West Germanic group admits of but little doubt.

6. It is assumed that, in the lapse of time, the primitive Germanic tongue was divided, in consequence of migrations and new settlements, into the two branches, East and West Germanic; and that, subsequent to this period, these branches were again differentiated into the several dialects through natural variation of speech, confirmed by partitions of territory and greater permanency of residence.

7. We have, therefore, the following scheme of descent, or genealogical table —



8. Since it is not always convenient to investigate the phonology of a word as a whole, various elements

or component parts of the word are often considered separately. Phonology is thus divided into two branches:—

1. Phonology of Vowels.
2. Phonology of Consonants.

And since the same original sounds, but especially the vowels, vary according to their position, we have another division, according to this principle, into—

1. Vowels of Stressed Syllables.
2. Vowels of Unstressed Syllables.

9. The investigation of Old English phonology, in the case of any particular word, resolves itself into the reconstruction of the Germanic or West Germanic form of the same word. The laws which must be observed in the reconstruction of the Germanic form are the same which determine the phonology of the Old English word. Hence the ability to reconstruct the Germanic form implies the comprehension of those laws.

10. The reconstruction of Germanic forms requires access to the best grammars and dictionaries of the various dialects. For our purpose, Frisian may be neglected, as not absolutely necessary. The following books may then be regarded as practically indispensable, unless there is a note to the contrary:—

a) Gothic:—

Braune's *Gotische Grammatik*. Halle, 1882. (There is an English translation by Balg, New York, 1883.)

Gabelentz und Loebe's *Ulfilas*. 3 vols. (Text, Grammar, and Glossary.) Leipzig, 1843–46.

Schulze's *Gotisches Glossar*. Magdeburg, 1847. (Will partially replace the last, if that cannot be obtained.)

b) Old Norse : —

Noreen's *Altnordische Grammatik*. Halle, 1884.

Cleasby and Vigfusson's *Icelandic Dictionary*. Oxford, 1874.

c) Old High German : —

Braune's *Althochdeutsche Grammatik*. Halle, 1886.

Graff's *Althochdeutscher Sprachschatz*. 6 vols. Berlin, 1834-42.

d) Old Saxon : —

Heyne's *Kleine Altsächsische und Altniederfränkische Grammatik*. Paderborn, 1873. (May be dispensed with.)

Heyne's edition of the *Heliand*. Paderborn, 1873.

Schmeller's *Glossarium Saxonicum*. Munich, 1840. (Either this or the preceding should be accessible.)

Heyne's *Kleinere Altniederdeutsche Denkmäler*. Paderborn, 1867. (Not indispensable.)

e) [Frisian : —

Von Richthofen's *Altfriesisches Wörterbuch*. Göttingen, 1840.]

f) Old English : —

Here a larger number of books is desirable. In addition to my translation of Sievers' *Old English Grammar* (2d edition, Boston, 1887), the following may be named, approximately in the order of their importance : —

Cosijn's *Altwestsächsische Grammatik*. Haag, 1883-86.

Zeuner's *Die Sprache des Kentischen Psalters*. Halle, 1881.

Dieter's *Ueber Sprache und Mundart der Aeltesten Englischen Denkmäler*. Göttingen, 1885.

Bosworth-Toller's *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*. Oxford, 1882-87. (Three parts out of four issued, to beginning of S.)

Grein's *Sprachschatz der Angelsächsischen Dichter*. Cassel, 1861-64.

Ettmüller's *Lexicon Anglo-Saxonicum*. Leipzig, 1851.

Sweet's *Oldest English Texts*. London, 1885.

Sweet's *Anglo-Saxon Reader*. Oxford, 1884.

Stratmann's *Dictionary of the Old English (i.e. Middle English) Language*. Krefeld, 1878. (Supplement, 1881.)

Mätzner's Altenglische Sprachproben (Middle English), Bd. II. (Wörterbuch). Berlin, 1878-. (Only as far as J.)

Lye's Dictionarium Saxonicum- et Gothico-Latinum. 2 vols. London, 1772. (Not indispensable.)

Leo's Angelsächsisches Glossar. Halle, 1877. (Of very little value.)

g) General:—

Paul and Braune's Beiträge zur Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache und Literatur. 13 vols. Halle, 1874-.

Kluge's Etymologisches Wörterbuch, 4th edition (now appearing). Strassburg, 1888.

Kluge's Nominale Stammbildungslehre. Halle, 1886.

The Philological Society's New English Dictionary. London, 1884-. (These last are important, but not indispensable.)

11. For convenience of reference, tables of the vowels and consonants, with their principal correspondences, are here given. In the table of consonant correspondences, the parentheses contain an occasional form, or a query, and the colon separates geminates from simple consonants, or initial from medial or final consonants. The dash indicates that the sound is lost (as in the final position of *r*). The details must be learned from the three grammars, the Old English, Old High German, and Old Norse, upon a virtual consensus of which the tables rely.

In the consonant table, the Germanic surd spirants, *p*, *f*, *h*, *s*, should be carefully distinguished from the sonant spirants, *þ*, *ð*, *γ* (borrowed from the Greek, and appropriated to mark this distinction), and *z*. It should also be noted that *j* is equivalent to English *y*.

VOWEL CORRESPONDENCES.

GERM.	WEST GERM.	GOTH.
a		a
e } i ² }	Same as Germ.	i, ai
i ¹		i, ai
o		u, au
u		u, au
á (only before h)		á
é	Same as Germanic.	é
í		ei
ó		ó
ú		ú
ai		ai
au		au
eu		iu

CONSONANT CORRESPONDENCES.

GERM.	WG.	OHG.	OE.
w : ww			
j : ȝ			
r : rr	Same as Germanic.	Same as Germanic.	Same as Germanic.
l : ll			
m : mm			
n : nn			
ŋ (= ng)			
t : tt		z : zz	
p : pp		pf : ff	
k : kk		k (c, ch) : hh	c : cc
þ : þþ (?)	þ : þþ	d (th) : tt (dd)	Same as WG.
f : ff (?)	f : ff	f : v (= f)	
h : hh (?)	h : hh	h : hh	
s : ss	s : ss	s : ss	
ʒ (d) : dd (?)	d : dd	t : tt	
ʒ (b) : bb (?)	b : f : bb	b (p) : bb	b : f : bb
ɣ (g) : gg (?)	g : gg	g (k) : gg	g : cg
z	r : —	r : —	r : —

THE PROBLEMS.

12. Supposing the Old English words given, the first step is to find the corresponding words in each of the other dialects. This may be done by help of the Old and Middle English Dictionaries, or by direct search in the dictionaries of those languages. The former method is generally easier, but the results thus obtained must be supplemented and verified by reference to the various lexicons. A general acquaintance with the Gothic, Old High German, Old Norse, and Old English Grammars is necessary. The more intimate the knowledge of these, the easier is the specific task, and the more certain the result.

In the discussion of the following problems, where no references are given in proof of a statement, the information will be found by a glance at the Vowel or Consonant Table. The following abbreviations are used:—

Braune ¹	. . . . .	Gothic Grammar.
Braune ²	. . . . .	Old High German Grammar.
Gr.	. . . . .	Old English Grammar.
Noreen	. . . . .	Old Norse Grammar.
Germ.	. . . . .	Germanic.
Goth.	. . . . .	Gothic.
OE.	. . . . .	Old English.
OHG.	. . . . .	Old High German.
ON.	. . . . .	Old Norse.
OS.	. . . . .	Old Saxon.
WG.	. . . . .	West Germanic.

1. **ǣð**.OHG. **eid**; OS. **éð**; ON. **eifðr**; Goth. **aiþs**.

Let us begin with the Gothic form, **aiþs**. According to the table of vowels, **ai** might represent either Germ. **e**, **i**, or **ai**. The two former are short, while the OS. form of the word shows that it is here long. Hence we are justified in assuming that Goth. **ai** here = Germ. **ai**. The **d** of the OHG. **eid** might stand either for Germ. **p** or **ð** (Braune² 174); the Goth. form is conclusive, and requires us to postulate Germ. **p**. The final **s** of Goth **aiþs** represents Germ. **z** (Braune¹ 74. *c*). Apparently, therefore, the Germ. form of the whole word would be **aiþz**. But **ǣð** is an **o**-stem (Gr. 239. *a*), which is a better designation of **a**-stem (Braune² 192). Hence Goth. **aiþs** stands for Germ. **aiþoz**, of which the stem is **aiþo**.

2. **burg**.OHG. **burg**, **burug**; OS. **burg**; Goth. **baurgs**.

Evidently this word can give but little trouble. WG. **b** (because OE., OHG., and OS.) must correspond to Germ. **b**; **u** remains; **r** remains; **g** is Germ. **γ**; Goth. **s** is Germ. **z** (Braune¹ 74. *c*). Hence Germ. **buryz**, since it is a consonant stem (Gr. 284), and therefore has no vowel before the **z**. The WG. form, **burgz**, is more commonly postulated (v. *borough* in Phil. Soc. Dict., which has **burgs** instead of **burgz**). The second **u** of OHG. **burug** is accounted for by Braune² 69. *b*.

3. **cyning**.OHG. **chunt(n)g**; OS. **kuning**; ON. **konungr**.

The OHG. **ch** points to Germ. **k**. We should at once postulate **kuning**-, then, were it not for the ON.

form, since OE. **y** is from **u** (Gr. 95). But the ON. **o** can only spring from **u** (in the Germanic period?) through the influence of **a** or **o** in the next syllable (Noreen 55). Hence we should assume, judging from the ON., **kunang-**. But Germ. **kunang-** ought to yield OHG. **chonang-** (Braune² 32), or perhaps eventually **choni(n)g-**. Such a form is indeed found in MHG., as **konig-**, whence Mod.HG. **könig**. Hence we are driven to postulate two Germ. forms, **kunangoz** and **kuningoz** (see 1, above), late Germ. **konangoz** and **kuningoz**, perhaps originally both **kunangoz**.

4. **dæg**.

OHG. **tag**, **tac**; OS. **dag**; ON. **dagr**; Goth. **dags**.

According to the consonant table, OHG. **t** = Germ. **ṭ**. The **c** (= **k**) of **tac** might possibly indicate Germ. **k**, were there not other evidence in favor of **γ**. Hence Germ. **ṭaγoz** (cf. 1, above), for which the books usually have WG. **dagoz** or **dagaz**.

5. **éast**.

OHG. OS. **óst-**; ON. **austr**.

The ON. **au** would seem to be the Germ. diphthong; this is confirmed by OHG. **o** (Braune² 45). The **st** is Germ. (Braune² 161), and the radical syllable accordingly **aust-**, which, if the word be a masc. **o**-stem, would yield the Germ. form **austoz**.

6. **efes (yfes)**.

OHG. **opasa**, **obasa**; ON. **ups**; Goth. **ubizwa**.

The OE. **f** is Germ. **f** (Gr. 192. 2); with this correspond the Goth. and OHG. The ON. **p** is no exception

(cf. Noreen 230. 2; 185 Anm. 2; but 193 Anm. 2), though at first sight apparently so. The disappearance of the Goth. **w** in WG. is regular (Braune² 109 Anm. 2), which accounts for the OHG. form, except for the **s** instead of **z**. The latter should regularly give **r** when medial (Braune² 82. *b*. 1), though Goth. **azgô**, OHG. **asca** is a similar exception. Goth. **u** might be either **o** or **u**; the OHG. **o** points to Germ. **o** (Braune² 18. *a*), from a remoter Germ. **u**; the ON. to **u** (Noreen 152. 1; cf. 172); OE. **e** to **o** (Gr. 93. 1), but OE. **y** to **u** (Gr. 95). The loss of both middle and final vowel in ON. **ups** is unusual (Noreen 134 Anm. 1). The noun is originally a **wô**-stem. Hence we may assume two forms in Germ.: **uþaswô** and **uþiswô**. The former would account for OHG., ON., and Prim. OE. ***ofas**; the latter for Goth. (except the **z**) and Prim. OE. ***ufis**. Prim. OE. ***ufis** would then yield **yfes**, while Prim. OE. ***ofas** might become ***ofis** by analogy, and hence **efes**.

7. **faran**.

OHG. OS. Goth. **faran**; ON. **fara**.

These various forms are identical, except for ON., which is easily accounted for (Noreen 220. 3). Hence the Germ. form is **faran** (or **faron**, Gr. 45. 4; 109. *a*; 160. 2).

8. **feld**.

OHG. OS. **feld**.

OHG. **d** points to **p**. This would yield **felp**-. Nothing forbids this (Gr. 202. 2; Braune² 162 Anm. 1). The oldest English actually has **felth** (cf. OET. p. 521). The noun was originally a long **u**-stem (Gr. 272); hence the Germ. form would be **felpuz**.

9. **ferian.**

OHG. OS. **ferian**; ON. **ferja**; Goth. **farjan**.

The Goth. word immediately suggests a Germ. **farjan** (**farjon**, see 7, above). This would account for all the forms (Braune² 26. *b*; Noreen 61. 1; Gr. 89. 1).

10. **fierd.**

OHG. **vart**; OS. **fard**; ON. **ferð**; Goth. **farþ**.

The ON. **ð** points to Germ. **p** (Noreen 184. 2). Hence we might assume Germ. **farþ**, which is confirmed by the Gothic. On the other hand, OHG. **t** = Germ. **ð**, and this is also indicated by the OS. and OE. There are therefore two Germ. roots, **farþ** and **farð**, a difference probably due to the place of the Indo-European accent, **farþ** indicating a stressed radical syllable, and **farð** a stressed suffix (cf. Noreen 175; Kluge, *Nominale Stammbildungslehre* 127; 128). The noun is an *i*-stem (Gr. 269; Braune² 219). Hence Germ. **farþiz** or **farðiz**.

11. **físeman.**

OE. **fe** springs from **éa** or **éo** (Gr. 42. 4, 5). The noun **fíeam** (Gr. 222. 2) decides between the two, and enables us to postulate a Germ. **flauhmission** (Gr. 398. 1), in which the original **h** shall appear. Suppose it is required to deduce the OHG. form of this word. From Braune² 45 we learn that Germ. **au** = OHG. **ó**, when in this position. The consonants of the stem remain. The ending **-ion** (which here = Braune's **-jan**) becomes **-en** (Braune² 314; 58 Anm. 2). Hence OHG. ***fíóhmen**, or possibly ***fíóihmen** (cf. Braune² 45 Anm. 4; 51).

Suppose the ON. form be required. **h** is lost (Noreen 217); **au** undergoes i-umlaut to **øy**, **ey** (Noreen 61. 7); **n** is lost (Noreen 220. 3); **i** is lost (Noreen 58; 62. 1; cf. Gr. 177). Hence ON. ***fløyma** or ***fleyma**.

12. **flocc.**ON. **flokkr.**

Noreen 235 shows that ON. **kk** = Germ. **kk**. The ON. **o** = Germ. **o** (Noreen 147. 1). **f** and **l** are constant. Hence Germ. **flokk-**. The word being a masc. **o**-stem, we obtain as the full Germ. form, **flokkoz**.

13. **fón.**OHG. OS. Goth. **fáhan**; ON. **fá**.

Germ. has **an** (**á**) for OE. **ó** (Gr. 67; cf. Braune¹ 60 Anm. 2; Braune² 33; Noreen 138. 4). Hence Germ. **fanhon**, perhaps better written **fa^hhon** or **fáhon** (Braune² 128 Anm. 1).

14. **géar.**OHG. OS. **jár**; ON. **ár**; Goth. **jér**.

Goth. **é**, OHG. OS. **á** indicate Germ. **æ**. Let us see if this will answer. **Jær** would give ON. **ár**, since Germ. **æ** = ON. **á** (Noreen 75), and **j** is lost (Noreen 210). **Jær** likewise gives OE. **géar**, since **æ** after this palatal becomes **éa** (Gr. 74; 75. 2), and **g** represents **j** (Gr. 175. 2). The word, being a neuter **o**-stem, is Germ. **jærom** (for the terminal **m**, see the Phil. Soc. Eng. Dict. under such words as *bairn*, *bone*).

15. **gísl.**OHG. **gísal**; ON. **gísl**.

OHG. **g** is Germ. **γ**, that is, spirant **g**. OHG. **al** here = Germ. **l** (Braune² 65). **s**, **l**, and **f** are constant. Since the noun is an **o**-stem, the Germ. form is **γíslōz**.

16. **hám.**OHG. **helm**; OS. **hém**; ON. **heimr**; Goth. **haims**.

h and **m** are constant. Goth. **s** here represents **z** (Braune¹ 74. *c*). OHG. **ei** = Germ. **ai** (Braune² 15. *b*), as does ON. **ei** (Noreen 156). This Germ. **ai** = OE. **á** (Gr. 62). Hence Germ. **haimoz** (usually **o**-stem).

17. **healdan.**OHG. **haltan**; OS. Goth. **haldan**; ON. **halda**.

OHG. **t**, OS. ON. Goth. **d** = Germ. **ṭ**. **h** and **l** are constant. OE. **ea** = Germ. **a** (Gr. 80). Final **n** is regularly lost in ON. (Noreen 220. 3). Final **an** in infinitives = Germ. **-on** (Gr. 45. 4; 160). Hence Germ. **halṭon**.

18. **healf.**OHG. Goth. **halba**; OS. **halba**; ON. **halfa**.

OHG. **b** = Germ. **ḅ**. This Germ. **ḅ** also = ON. **f** (Noreen 248. 1) and Goth. **b** (= **ḅ**, Braune² 82. *b*. 3). The Germ. **ḅ** is represented by OE. **f** (Gr. 192. 2; cf. 191). OE. **ea** = Germ. **a** (Gr. 80). The final **a** would be lost in OE. (Gr. 134. *b*). **healf** being an **o**-(**a**)-stem, the Germ. form is **halḅo**.

19. **here.**OHG. **heri**, **hari**; ON. **herr**; Goth. **harjls**.

here is a **jo-stem** (Gr. 246); so in Goth. (Braune¹ 80); **h** and **r** are constant. Comparing the **e** of OE. with the **a** of Goth., we see that the former denotes umlaut (Gr. 89. 1). If this be really a **jo-stem**, we cannot therefore escape the conclusion that the Germ. form is **harjoz**. ON. **j** is lost before **i** (in this case Goth. **i**, Noreen 218); and the vowel of the second syllable would also be lost in ON. (Noreen 135), while final **z** would here become **R** (Noreen 180), which with the stem-final would yield **rr** (Noreen 200. 2. and *b. a*). Final **z** is lost in WG., and consequently in OHG. (Braune² 82. *b. 1*). The **o** of the second syllable would not appear, any more than in such pure **o-stems** as **eid**. Hence the OHG. form would be ***harj**, which would become **hari** (Braune² 119), and, by umlaut, **heri** (Braune² 26. *b*).

20. **hlôf**.

h and **l** are constant; **ŋ** represents Germ. **p** (Gr. 201); **ô** is Germ. **o** (Gr. 60). The noun is feminine, and an **o-stem**. Hence Germ. **hlôpô**.

21. **hreddan**.OHG. **retten**.

OE. **hr** is usually OHG. **r** (Braune² 153). OHG. **tt** = WG. (OS. OE.) **dd** before **j** (Braune² 188; 164). OE. **dd** represents Germ. **ŋj** (usually designated by **dj** in the books; cf. Gr. 228). OE. OHG. **e** is Germ. **a** (Gr. 89. 1; Braune² 26. *b*). Hence Germ. **hraŋjon**.

22. **hwfl.**OHG. **wfla**; OS. ON. **hwfla**; Goth. **hwella**.

If allowance be made for the loss of initial **h** in OHG. (Braune² 153), the radical syllable will reduce itself to **hwfl**, the Germ. form. The final **a** represents Germ. **o** (Braune² 207), which is lost in OE. (Gr. 134. *b*). Hence Germ. **hwflō**.

23. **hyð.**OHG. **-hunda**; Goth. **hunþs**.

hyð is classified as a **jā**-stem, that is, as a **jō**-stem (Gr. 258. 2). OHG. **hunda** might apparently be a **jō**-stem (Braune² 210). The decision with respect to **hunda** is complicated, however, by OE. **húð**, with the same meaning, which, since it lacks umlaut, can only be an **ō**-stem. Since the form does not forbid, OHG. **hunda** might also be an **ō**-stem. Goth. **hunþs** being only possibly a feminine (Gabelentz-Loebe, Glossary) cannot help us much. Hence we are in somewhat of a quandary. However, **hyð** can only be a **jō**-stem. The word must have originally possessed **n** (Gr. 185. 2), and the vowel **u** (Gr. 96. *b*). The surd spirant **p** is indicated by the Gothic and confirmed by the OHG. (Braune² 166). We may therefore postulate Germ. **hunþjō**.

24. **lond.**OHG. **lant**; OS. ON. Goth. **land**.

The OHG. **t** is here Germ. **ð** (Braune² 82. *b*. 2; 163). **l** and **n** are constant. OE. **o** is here Germ. **a** (Gr. 65). The noun is a neuter **ō**-stem. Hence Germ. **lanðom**.

25. *mete*.OHG. *maz*; OS. *meti*; ON. *matr*; Goth. *mats*.

OHG. *maz* is neuter, and must therefore be excluded. OE. *mete* is masc. *i*-stem (Gr. 263); so are Goth. *mats* (Gabelentz-Loebe, Gram. 75) and ON. *matr* (Noreen 302. 1). There is evidently *i*-umlaut in the OE. OS. forms, but not in ON. (cf. Noreen 306). *m* and *t* are constant. Hence Germ. *matiz*.

26. *mon*.OHG. OS. *man*; ON. *maðr*; Goth. *manna*.

The ON. *-ðr* is inorganic (Noreen 220. 2); *mann* would be regular (Noreen 326). OE. *o* is here Germ. *a* (Gr. 65). *m* and *n* are constant. The Goth. *manna* is a weak form (Braune¹ 107. 1), and its ending is therefore to be disregarded for this purpose. From Kluge's Etym. Wört. s.v. *mann*, we learn that the Germ. form is *mann-*, by assimilation from *manw-*, itself standing for Indo-European *manu*. This Germ. *mann-* will fulfil every condition, since gemination was simplified in OE. (Gr. 225. 1) and OHG. (Braune² 93).

27. *mónað*.OHG. *mánód*; ON. *mánaðr*; Goth. *ménóþs*.

OE. *ó* in this word = Germ. *æ* (Gr. 68). This Germ. *æ* gives OHG. *á*, Goth. *é* (Braune² 34), ON. *á* (Noreen 75). In the second syllable, ON. *a* = Germ. *ó* (Noreen 113. 2), OHG. *d* = Germ. *þ* (Braune² 166), as does ON. *ð* here (Noreen 184. 2). Hence Germ. *mænóþ-* (cf. Gr. 281; Noreen 325).

28. **niht.**

OHG. OS. **naht**; ON. **nótt**; Goth. **nahts**.

Goth. **nahts** is an anomalous **i**-stem (Braune¹ 106). The ON. form is peculiar, on account of its **u**-umlaut (Noreen 72); **tt** springs regularly from **ht** (Noreen 197. 3). OHG. **ht** = Germ. **ht** (Braune² 161). OE. **i** comes from **a** by palatal umlaut (Gr. 101).

29. **niman.**

OHG. **neman**; OS. Goth. **niman**; ON. **nema**.

The **i** of OE. Goth. **niman** is WG. **e** (Gr. 69; Braune¹ 10. 1). Final **n** is wanting in ON. (Noreen 220. 3). Hence Germ. **nemon**.

30. **notian.**

OHG. **nuzón** (**nuzen**); ON. **nota**.

OHG. **nuzen** must be disregarded, as belonging to a different conjugation. ON. **o** must here equal Germ. **o** (Noreen 147; cf. 76), as must likewise OE. **o** (Gr. 55). OHG. **z** = Germ. **t**. OE. **ia** in the ending of weak verbs = Germ. **ójo** (Gr. 411). Hence Germ. **notójon**.

31. **rád.**

ON. **reið**.

ON. **ei** = Germ. **ai** (Noreen 156). This **ai** would account for OE. **á** (Gr. 62). ON. **ð** usually = Germ. **th** (Noreen 249. 1). OE. **d** = Goth. **d** (Gr. 197), and this = Germ. **th** (Braune² 82. b. 2). **rád** is an **o**-stem (cf. Noreen 288 Anm. 2). Hence Germ. **raiðo**.

32. **ræcan.**OHG. **reihhen.**

OHG. **ei** here = Germ. **ai** (Braune² 15. *b*; cf. 43 Anm. 4). OHG. **hh** = Germ. **k** (Braune² 145). The OHG. infinitive ending **-en** points to **-ian**, or, rather, **-ion** (Braune² 118 Anm. 2; cf. Gr. 45. 8). We should thus have Germ. **raikion**. From this Germ. **ai** would come OE. **á** (Gr. 62), which would be converted by *i*-umlaut into **æ** (Gr. 90). Germ. **k** = OE. **c**. The Germ. **i** regularly disappears (Gr. 177. *b*). The **o** of **-on** becomes **a** (Gr. 108; 109). Hence OE. **ræcan**.

33. **rice.**OHG. **rihhi**; OS. ON. **ríki**; Goth. **reikl**.

OHG. **hh** = Germ. **k** (Braune² 145). The noun is a neuter *jo*-stem (Gr. 246; Gabelentz und Loebe, Gram. p. 60). Hence Germ. **ríkjom**.

34. **ridan.**OHG. **ritan**; ON. **riða**.

ON. **ṛ** = Germ. **ʀ** (Noreen 249. 1). This Germ. **ʀ** = OHG. **t**, OE. **d** (Braune² 89; Gr. 197). **r** and **i** are constant. Final **-an** points to **-on** (Gr. 108; 109). Hence Germ. **riðon**.

35. **rymet.**

The meaning allies it with OE. OHG. OS. ON. **rúm**, Goth. **rúms**. OE. **ȝ** here = Germ. **ú** (Gr. 96. 1; 61). **r** and **m** are constant. The ending **-et** causes umlaut, and therefore springs from **-it**. Such words are

neuter **jo**-stems (Gr. 247. *c*). Hence Germ. **rúmitjom** (cf. Kluge, *Nominale Stammbildungslehre* 144).

36. **samnian**.

OHG. **samanón**; OS. **samnón**; ON. **samna**.

s, **a**, and **m** are constant. The second **a** of the OHG. form is peculiar to this dialect, and not original (Braune² 65; Paul-Braune, *Beiträge* 5: 90, 91). OE. **ia** here = Germ. **jo** (Gr. 411). Hence Germ. **samnójon**.

37. **scip**.

OHG. **scif**, **scef**; OS. ON. Goth. **skip**.

OHG. **f** = Germ. **p** (Braune² 132). OHG. **sk** = Germ. **sk** (Braune² 146). The **i** is Germ.; for occasional OHG. **scef** see Braune² 31. Anm. 1. The noun is neuter, and has the appearance of an **o**-stem (Gr. 241). This would yield Germ. **skipom**. There is a possibility, however, of its having been a Germ. **oz**-, **ez**-stem (Gr. 288 n. 1; 182). In this case we should have Germ. **skepoz**, **skiepez** (Goth. ***skipiz**). The variation between radical **e** and **i** would thus be due to the vowel of the following syllable.

38. **scfr**.

Here we have only the OE. word. The vowel is marked long in Alfred's *Orosius* 19⁹, and is long in Modern English. It is a feminine, and according to Cosijn an **á**-(**ô**)-stem. All the sounds are constant. Hence Germ. **skíró**.

39. *sécan*.

OHG. *suohhen*; OS. *sókian*; ON. *sókja*; Goth. *sókjan*.

OHG. *hh* points to Germ. *k* (Braune² 145), and *uo* to Germ. *ö* (Braune² 21. *d*). *s* is constant. OS. *-ian* points to Germ. *-ion* (Gr. 398. 1). Hence Germ. *sókion*. This will account for OE. *sécan* (Gr. 94. *a*; 177. *b*), and for the ON. form (Noreen 61. 4).

40. *sellan*.

OHG. *sellen*; OS. *sellian*; ON. *selja*; Goth. *saljan*.

The Goth. ending *-an* is Germ. *-on* (Gr. 108; 109). Hence the Goth. form would indicate Germ. *saljon*. This would account for OHG. (Braune² 26. *a*; 96. *a*; 122; 118. Anm. 2); for ON. (Noreen 61. 1; 256; 260. 1; 220. 3); for OE. (Gr. 89. 1; 228; 177; 80. N. 2).

41. *set*.

OHG. *sez*; ON. *set*.

OHG. *z* = Germ. *t*. *s* and *e* are constant. The noun is a neuter *o*-stem. Hence Germ. *setom*.

42. *sittan*.

OHG. *sizzen*; OS. *sittian*; ON. *sitja*; Goth. *sitan*.

A comparison of the OS. and ON. would indicate either Germ. *sittion* or *sitjon*. OE., OHG., and OS. all have double consonant; ON. and Goth. *t*. But the first three all belong to WG. This accords with a general principle (Gr. 228), and we may therefore assume that the Germ. has *t*. OHG. *zz* is Germ. *t* (Braune² 159), and OHG. *-en* is regular (Braune² 118 Anm. 2). In OE. *sittan* the *j* is regularly lost (Gr. 177).

43. *sið*.

OHG. *sind*; OS. *sið*; ON. *sinn*; Goth. *sinþa*.

Let us assume that Goth. *sinþ* is Germ. *s* would be constant. *þ* gives OHG. *d* (Braune² 174. 1). *n* is lost, and *i* lengthened, in OE. (Gr. 185. 2). ON. *nn* is Germ. *nþ* (Noreen 199. 2). The noun is a masc. *o*-stem. Hence Germ. *sinþoz*.

44. *tréow*.

OHG. *triuwa*; OS. *treua*; ON. *trúa*, *trú*; Goth. *triggwa*.

OE. *tréow* is a *wó*-(*wá*-)stem (Gr. 259). The WG. diphthong is *eu* (Gr. 64; Braune² 17. *d*. 1), but this *eu* springs from Germ. *e* before *ww* (Braune² 49 Anm. 4; 113. *b*). Goth. *gg* is merely the sign of this Germ. gemination (Braune² 113). The *w* would be lost in ON. (Noreen 223); we are not at present in a position to account for the ON. *ú* (Noreen 153 Anm. 1). Hence Germ. *trewwó*.

45. *wæter*.

OHG. *wazzar*; OS. *watar*; ON. *vatn*; Goth. *wató*.

The Germ. must have had two stems, since EG. (Goth. and ON.) differs from WG. We will concern ourselves only with WG. OHG. *zz* = Germ. *t* (Braune² 159). *w* is constant. The noun is a neuter *o*-stem (Gr. 245). Hence Germ. *watarom*.

46. *weald*.

OHG. OS. *wald*; ON. *völlr* (Noreen *völlr*).

OE. *weald* is a *u*-stem (Gr. 273; cf. Braune² 229 and Noreen 309). OE. *ea* = Germ. *a* (Gr. 80). ON. *ll* might be Germ. *lp* (Noreen 257. 2; 199. 1). This *lp*

would account for OE. **ld** (Gr. 202. 2), and for OHG. **ld** (Braune² 174). ON. **q** stands for **a**, and is due to u-umlaut (Noreen 71. 1). Hence Germ. **walpuz**.

47. (ge)weorc.

OHG. **werc**, **werah**; OS. **werk**; ON. **verk**.

OHG. **c** = Germ. **k** (for **werah** cf. Braune² 69. *a*). **w** and **r** are constant. Assume Germ. **werk-**. This will account for OE. **weorc** (Gr. 79. 1). OHG. ON. **e** in this situation = Germ. **e** (Braune² 29; Noreen 140. 1). The word, as neuter o-stem, is Germ. **werkom**.

48. wícian.

Cf. OHG. **wích**; OS. **wík**.

OHG. **ch** here = Germ. **k**. **w** and **i** are constant. The ending **-ian** = Germ. **ónjon** (Gr. 411). Hence Germ. **wíkónjon**.

49. wudu.

OHG. **witu**; ON. **viðr**.

The word is a **u**-stem (Gr. 271; Braune² 230; Noreen 309). The first **u** in OE. **wudu** is from **i** (Gr. 71). ON. **ð** here = Germ. **ð** (Noreen 249. 1), since this would give OHG. **t** (Braune² 188; 89). **w** is constant. Hence Germ. **wiðuz**.

50. wundrian.

OHG. **wuntarón**; OS. **wundralan**, **wundrolan**, **wundrón**; ON. **undra**.

The ending is **-ónjon** (Gr. 411). OHG. **t** = Germ. **ð** (Braune² 188. 1). **w**, **u**, and **n** are constant except for **w** in ON. (Noreen 211. 1). Hence Germ. **wunðrójon**.

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